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The International Socialist.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE
AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

RAY EVERITT, Managing Editor.

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The Sin of Sex.

Slow though the process be, the political outposts of the master class are being forced to admit the existence of the evils consequent upon a system whose motive force is profit. Shrouded under that most blessed of words, **Re-construction**, great efforts are being made to patch the many grievous rents, in the garment of a feeble capitalism, which the war, with its high speed activity, exposed to our view. To kill with silence has ever been old England's method, when her folk have brought forward for discussion any of the disagreeable facts of life.

When a few years ago a school teacher at Nottingham began teaching her adolescent girl pupils the facts of their sexual life, the poor, ignorant mothers refused to send their sweet girls to the school lest they should be under the influence of such a "moral poison." Hence, many of the attitude was the result of the holding on England's putrid prejudice, of which hold their readers by regaining the sordid details of the divorce court and of public house brawls.

Rosy with morbidity, the London "Times" has of late been showering praise upon itself for its "outspoken" attitude on the question of venereal disease. During the war it was found that very considerable numbers of the army were incapacitated by venereal disease, which necessitated a systematic method of attention, leading to cure. The suggestion that has now been made constitutes an application of the military methods to civil life. It has been estimated that of the population of the large cities about ten per cent. are suffering from syphilis, acquired or congenital, and that from sixty to seventy per cent. are suffering from gonorrhoea. With these facts before them it is little to be wondered at that even the laird of Printing House Square decided that something had to be done.

The first thing to be done was to appoint a "Committee of Infectious Diseases in connection with demobilisation." In due time there were advocated various means of solving the problem:

- (1) Sinners and their families should be made "stew in their own juice."
- (2) Establishment of centres for early treatment.
- (3) Free treatment of sinners at clinics.
- (4) Prophylactic packets of army type to be issued to prospective sinners.
- (5) Public to be taught general sanitation.

It will be noted that the word used to designate an infected person is sinner. That brings us to the crux of the matter.

Arbitration and the Strike.

A 16-PAGE PAMPHLET BY PERCY LAIDLER.

At last a pamphlet appears that is worth while reading on this question. Percy Laidler has taken exceptional pains to gather material of the past ten years to expose the futility of "arbitration." His summary of decisions given by Judge Higgins in the Arbitration Court is alone worthy of a lasting niche in the monument of sociological research. Through the maze of awards coming from the Federal Court of Arbitration, Laidler has carefully picked a way to enlightenment on this subject.

He has given an illuminating example of the knavery of capitalist "justice," and has shown that the Arbitration Court is not run in the interest of the working class, but for the interest of the capitalist class.

Laidler enters into every phase of the Arbitration law, and points to a matter that has not yet been referred to in any pamphlet by who one sees this question from the proletarian standpoint. It is in connection with the function of the Judge of the Arbitration Court to prevent disputes. I quote from page 7 of the pamphlet in order to show that no loophole is left for the fakir to support the idea of Arbitration.

In the Marine Cooks' case (1908) before Justice Higgins said: "I must settle the dispute on terms which seem to me just, on terms which I deem to be fair and reasonable between the parties. . . . and I cannot conceive any terms to be fair and reasonable which do not, at the very least, allow a man to live from his labor, to live as a human being in a civilized community. But I have to look all round the subject, and see that I do not create more disputes than I settle. There are not wanting indications, for instance, that the superior advantages given to the Seamen's Union by the respondents in their agreement made with it, have provoked comparison and stimulated discontent on the part of galleymen, and have contributed to the organization of the claimant Union. None know so well the degree of skill and of exertion required of an employee as the other employees who see him at his work from day to day; and if I were to make an award unduly liberal in this case, if I were to be benevolent with other people's money, other men who are not affected by the award might become discontented. The Act requires me to 'prevent' as well as to settle industrial disputes, and I have to see to it that I do not create other disputes in settling this; that I do not loosen a dozen nails by driving in one."

Could he have the case more plainly stated? The Judge must be as careful as possible, in giving one section an award that the award is not of such a character as to excite discontent and cause unrest among other sections.

In the first Seamen's case Judge Higgins said: "He must consider, if he raised the wages of one class, whether it would make other classes discontented."

It is yet again necessary to quote. This

a "private matter." Therefore, it tells the infected man or woman that he or she is alone responsible, that he or she has committed sin. When the presence of these evils is acknowledged, and it is realized that "something really has to be done," the doing consists merely in a treatment of the symptoms of the disease, completely ignoring the conditions that makes venereal disease and its growth possible. In opposition to this attitude the Socialist unhesitatingly answers that there are conditions which make venereal disease possible, aid its growth, and that those conditions are social, and that to be infected does not constitute an individual sin. Venereal disease, "immorality," destitution, and all the filth and squalor of the world to-day are but the consequence of the prevailing economic conditions, and nothing short of an understanding of those conditions can provide a solution of the problems they present to the world. Socialism points the way to the solution—**Revolution**—but it is not the solution that is acceptable to the master.

A. T. B.

THE Revolutionary Outlook.

"PEACE." "When will it operate?" "Perhaps At The End Of The Year." Cable heading.

What peace is this?

Why, nothing but the termination of a state of war between the Allies, Germany, Austria and Bulgaria!

But does this mean Peace?

Nay! It means but the ceasing of the cannon's roar, which will give place to a roar louder, more piercing—aye, and more deadly—the roar of the machinery of production, accompanied by the screech of the master-class and his henchlings—produce more!

It means the giving of a free hand to the international competition for the spoils of the world. It means the free play of the forces of production, untrammelled by the artificial restraints of the capitalist class.

Does this mean Peace?

Nay! For the struggle for the spoils of the world will be fiercer than ever before. It means the free play of the forces of production, untrammelled by the artificial restraints of the capitalist class. It means the free play of the forces of production, untrammelled by the artificial restraints of the capitalist class.

As E. A. T. Pook says in "The Harp"

"The world is a great machine, and the workers are the gears. The gears must turn, or the machine will stop. The gears must turn, or the machine will stop. The gears must turn, or the machine will stop."

Mr. Ryan, a member of the House of Representatives, December 13, 1910. Mr. Hughes, which of the two will keep the peace of Federal office? A question that should not worry the intelligent worker. Neither Ryan or Hughes can alter the lot of the worker, even though they set out to do so.

What Labor needs, is not a change in

time he puts his hand upon a spot that ought to make the A.W.U. advocates of the present method of "settling" labor disputes, get out of public life.

Laidler maintains, and with a verity that is indisputable, that labor power functions as a commodity. That in respect of his relation to his master, the worker is merely an animal that has to be looked after in order to be able to produce in an efficient manner. He writes of Judge Higgins having made the following remark:

After stating that he could accept no other meaning of a fair and reasonable wage than that of the normal needs of the average man regarded as a human being living in a civilized community, Mr. Justice Higgins uttered the following words: "If A lets B have the use of his horses, on the terms that he gives them fair and reasonable treatment, I have no doubt that it is B's duty to give them proper food and water, and such shelter and rest as they need; and, as wages are the means of obtaining commodities, surely the State in stipulating for fair and reasonable remuneration for the employees, means that the wages shall be sufficient to provide these things, and clothing, and a condition of frugal comfort, estimated by current human standards."

Could anything be said more eloquently descriptive of the position of the working man under the Arbitration Court's jurisdiction, and, incidentally, of his position in society? Only in one word could it be improved upon, and that would be by using, instead of the word "horse," the word "donkey."

The latter view of Laidler is not without justification. I would like to give a final quotation made by Laidler that seems to me a most wise conclusion. One that in fact stamps the pamphlet as a thought provoker. It is:

"Arbitration is not a substitute for strikes. How can it be so, when the more willing the workers are to arbi-

trate the worse is their treatment by the judge?"

Quite an interesting observation, is followed by this in large type:

"In pursuit of industrial peace, judge, to purchase that condition, give much more to striking workers than to arbitrationists."

The whole pamphlet is a mass of needed information. Every paragraph contains something of value to some, and the pamphlet is one that WILL sell itself. Readers ought to get a copy and give it away. Unions ought to have stocks for distribution to their members. It is a fine contribution to the history of the Arbitration Court, and I believe, and in fact am sure, of a standard work throughout the English-speaking countries. To those who had an idea that Arbitration is a blessing it will be a shock. To those who never made any inquiry at all, it will be a pleasure to read. In fact, it is a wonderful little work. It is worth a more times the THREEPENCE, post 4d. that the pamphlet is sold at.

MOSES BARTZ

Supplies of the above can be secured from A.S.P. Literature Department.

Funds Wanted.

The Party having decided to put a number of Organisers in the field, requires the financial assistance of ALL Branches, Members and Supporters.

Funds are wanted right NOW, and all Donations should be sent to the General Secretary, A. S. P., 115 Goulburn St., Sydney.

Bolshevism.

THE CLIMAX OF RAYMOND ROBINS' STORY AS TOLD TO WILLIAM HARD.

(Re-printed from the "Metropolitan Magazine").

Continued from last issue

I sat on the deck of a steamer going out of Vladivostok and watched the headlands of Asia dimming, and said to myself:

"Back there, in that country, a dark country, I have seen a new social blunder among men."

Oddly, very oddly, the Allied and Associated Governments seemed at that time, in certain ways, to entertain a quite similar opinion. Robins, on his steamer, thought back over certain strange things recently done by the Allied and Associated Governments—things strange, indeed, if the Soviet Republic was really thought by them to be nothing but Russian militarism venally serving German militarism.

There was the matter of the American Railway Mission in Russia. It was dispatched in Russia in 1917. In March of 1918 part of it was in Harbin in Manchuria, and part of it was in Negasaki in Japan. In the same month of March the Bolsheviks ratified the peace of Brest-Litovsk. The worst about them was known. The American Ambassador, Mr. David R. Francis, was in Russia, at Vologda, to know it. Yet on March 27, eleven days after the ratification of the peace of Brest-Litovsk, and in the full light of the full meaning of that event, Mr. Francis wired Mr. Stevens of the American Railway Mission in Harbin to send Mr. Emerson and a party of a hundred other American railway experts on into Soviet Russia to serve the Soviet Government in the operation of the Soviet Railway system. And on April 6, from Vologda, Mr. Francis informed Robins by wire at Moscow that he had cabled Washington urging the American Government to support and promote this plan.

Mr. Francis now talks as if no representative of a respectable government could ever have extended a finger toward the Soviet Government except by way of reprobation. He extended a whole hand of friendship to it in the vital matter of the technical improvement of its transportation. He must have regarded it as a government worthy of his hand.

Again there was the matter of the training of the Soviet Government's Red Army. The American Ambassador lent his countenance and his active assistance to the training of that army. So did all the representatives in Russia of Britain, France and Italy. In March of 1918, after the ratification of the Shameful Peace and after the so-called betrayal of Russia to Germany by the Bolsheviks, the representatives of the Allied and Associated Governments conferred earnestly and frequently with the Bolshevik Secretary of War—Trotzky himself—and with Bolshevik generals regarding the best methods of providing military instruction and "revolutionary discipline" for the new Red Army; and Allied infantry officers, artillery officers, aviation officers, hastened up from South Russia to Moscow to take part in the giving of that instruction and in the imparting of that discipline.

Mr. Francis now seems to regard the Red Army as a very vicious army. It was just as vicious in the spring of 1918. But on March 26, 1918, Mr. Francis from Vologda solicitously inquired from Robins at Moscow: "What progress in formation of new army?" And on May 3, 1918, he called attention to his sympathetic attitude toward the Soviet Republic by saying (among other things) in a letter to Robins: "You are aware of my action in bringing about the aid of the military missions toward organizing an army."

Why did Mr. Francis want to help organize an army of anarchists and pro-Germans? In justice to him one is forced to conclude that he did not think it was an army of anarchists and pro-Germans. It was not; and the Ambassador, previous to the time when intervention was ordered at London and Paris and Washington, said by his actions that it was not.

Also there was the matter of the co-operation between the Allies and the Bolsheviks at Murmansk. This co-operation was witnessed by a member of Robins' Red Cross staff—Major Thomas D. Thacher. Major Thacher was Secretary of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia under Colonel Billings, and then under Colonel Thompson, and finally under Robins. He was especially assigned to have charge of "Distribution of Civilian Relief"—the distribution of milk, for instance, in Petrograd. He is by private occupation a lawyer in New York. He left Russia in March of 1918 because of the serious illness of his father, and he went out by way of Murmansk.

In March, at Murmansk, there was the following state of things:

There was a Soviet there, headed by a man named Youriev, formerly a fireman on board a Russian ship belonging to the Russian Volunteer Fleet. There was also a British Admiral there, Admiral Kemp in command of His Majesty's warship *Grey*. There was also a French commanding officer there with some French forces. These three persons—the Soviet Commissioner, the British Admiral and the French commanding officer—were co-operating in a project of war against the White Finns and the Germans along the line of the Murmansk Railway. The supreme control of the project was in the hands of the Soviet, headed by the ex-fireman. The British Admiral honored the ex-fireman. He fired a formal salute from the *Grey* to the ex-fireman's flag, the flag of the Soviet Republic, the Red Flag. Would Admiral Kemp have fired a salute to a pro-German anarchist flag? One cannot believe it. The salute he fired must have been to the Red flag remotely worthy of association with Britain's own red ensign.

This association, this co-operation, at Murmansk was witnessed by Major Thacher down to March 26, 1918. It was sanctioned by Trotzky. In and by itself it wrecks the theory of an Allied and Associated diplomacy believing the theory of a Soviet Republic created and operated by the German General Staff.

But again—and in climax—there was the matter of the Black Sea Fleet. Did that fleet fall into the hands of the Germans? It did. Was that pro-German? Well, before the Black Sea Fleet fell into the hands of the Germans there was a certain offer made. It was made by the Soviet to the British. The Soviet Government deliberately and distinctly offered to the British, through the British Commissioner at Moscow, the opportunity to send British naval officers to take charge of the Russian Bolshevik Black Sea Fleet. "If those officers," said Trotzky, "find that they can do nothing else, they can at least sink the fleet before the Germans get it."

The British Commissioner will not deny that this offer was made. He mentioned it in a letter to Robins. Like the American Ambassador, the British Commissioner now wears the look of a man who always knew that those Bolsheviks could not be tolerated. But also, like the Ambassador, he wrote himself down as knowing no such thing at a time when the Bolsheviks were under their thickest cloud of alleged pro-Germanism. In his letter to Robins, on May 5, 1918, he signed his name—R. H. Bruce Lockhart—to the following explicit statement covering the Black Sea Fleet incident and certain other incidents, convincing then and equally convincing now:

"Moscow, 5th May, 1918.

"Dear Colonel:

"I am afraid you will have left for Vologda before I have a chance of seeing you. Do let me, in support of my view of things here, put before you the following definite instances in which Trotzky has shown his willingness to work with the Allies.

"(1) He has invited Allied officers to co-operate in the reorganization of the New Army.

"(2) He invited us to send a commission of British Naval officers to save the Black Sea Fleet.

"(3) On every occasion when we have asked him for papers and assistance for our naval officers and our evacuation officers at Petrograd he has always given us exactly what we wanted.

"(4) He has given every facility so far for Allied Co-operation at Murmansk.

"(5) He has agreed to send the Czech Corps to Murmansk and Archangel.

"(6) Finally, he has to-day come to a full agreement with us regarding Allied stores at Archangel whereby we shall be allowed to retain those stores which we require for ourselves.

"You will agree that this does not look like the action of a pro-German agent, and that a policy of Allied intervention, with the co-operation and consent of the Bolshevik Government, is feasible and possible.

"Yours very sincerely,

"R. H. BRUCE-LOCKHART."

Mr. Lockhart was Mr. Lloyd George's special personal representative in Russia. If Mr. Lockhart told Mr. Lloyd George what he told Robins, then Mr. Lloyd George had reason to know that the Soviet Government was precisely what Robins has always said it was, a government on its own account, having its own stake, and playing its own hand in the world, co-operating here and refusing to co-operate there with this foreign government, or with that foreign government, indifferently, according to its own vision of its own socialist revolutionary interest.

Yet, as Robins crossed the Pacific on his way back to the United States, he could see the fog of Allied intervention closing down over Soviet Russia. The training of the Red Army by the Allied and American Missions was stopped. The offer of the Black Sea Fleet to the British was refused. Intervention was in the air. Its causes were a fog. And it itself turned out to be, in method, a fog. Robins hoped that at Washington he might be able to penetrate it and perhaps to dissipate it.

He hoped also that he might be able to talk to American business men about the message conveyed to American business by the victory of Bolshevism over Capitalism in Russia. What is the strength, what are the weaknesses, of American capitalism today. How can it best prepare itself for its approaching competition with the Soviet idea and with the Soviet system in the world's future? On that theme Robins has spoken now to many audiences of American business men. He has tried to express both his objective conclusions and the personal routes by which he came to them, candidly. He has said:

"I want you to understand my approach to this problem. For years I was a wage-earner, living on my own manual labor. For years now I have been a capitalist, living on earnings invested, living on dividends. I come to this problem, therefore, gentlemen, from both approaches. So, fortunately, do many of you—perhaps most of you. This is American. We are wage-earners to-day and capitalists to-morrow. A Bolshevik once said to me: 'You Americans have a bourgeoisie with working-class traditions and a working-class with bourgeois temperament.' I could not contradict him. I did not want to contradict him. I hope that forever and forever we may have an America in which you scratch a bourgeois or scratch a wage-earner you find simply an American.

"The problem is: how to make sure of such an America?

"You are proud, gentlemen, of American industry. You have a right to be proud. American industry has the primary and fundamental virtue of being able to make the wheels go round, and go round fast. It can produce. I do not believe that any socialist system could produce so rapidly and so abundantly. I held that disbelief about socialism when I went to Russia. Having returned from Russia, I still hold it. My conclusion is that the American system is the system that deserves to survive, for productivity, for delivering the goods.

"And why is it able to deliver the goods? Surely the reason is the familiar one:

"It summons, it welcomes, personal individual leadership. To the man who has a great industrial value, it gives a great financial reward; but it gives him more than a reward. It gives him command. It takes a Henry Ford and, without the aid or consent of the electorate of Michigan, or of commissions and sub-commissions, or of investigations and further investigations, it puts him, by proof of his own efforts, into a position in which he can make motor-cars the way Henry Ford wants to make motor-cars.

"Some industries—like water-works—are not fitted to that kind of individual command. Manufacturing industries—the originative industries—are. In them lies the creative force of the industrial

Scapegoats.

Every revolt by the working class, every incident that upsets the smooth running of the productive forces, every eruption in the social organism is laid at the door of the Socialists. They and they only are responsible according to the capitalistic class sycophants. Many of these know otherwise, but to earn their salt as hirelings of their economic masters they distort the truth of social science, giving those half truths that are more damaging than deliberate lies.

The Socialist parties in all countries have been saddled with each and every incident that has occurred in the present phase of society since its inception. They have been made the scapegoats for every episode. "No case? Abuse the other side," was the advice to the lawyer about to defend a client. So with these hirelings: they have no case against Socialism, and descend to the vilest tactics of abuse, from the gutter press type to the more insidious form of slander of those writers who pretend to take the workers into their confidence, in such articles as those appearing in the London "Times" as "Ten minutes' talk with workers"; where the workers get but half-truths of the economic relations between capital and labor.

These hirelings by such tactics insult the working class. Veil these tactics over as they may, they cannot conceal the fact that they look upon the workers generally as nincompoops led by the nose, at the beck and call of agitators of the local and more especially of the foreign type who have axes to grind on their own account. This trick of accusing agitators is demeaning to the workers, and reminds us of the loving mother (but without the love) who accuses all and sundry of leading her boy into mischief, never realising that such an attitude is degrading to her offspring, and brands him as an imbecile led astray by other boys with more character and perhaps more devilment in their nature. So the hirelings in their accusations against socialist agitators, foreign or otherwise, are branding the British workers as a lot of brainless idiots carried away by every agitator with a glib tongue.

Every idea must have some material basis. Without that material basis there would be no scope for the so-called agitators. The justification for Socialist propaganda and agitation is to be found in the material basis of society—in the economic conditions, in the antagonisms that must necessarily exist in a society where a few have control of the necessary tools of production and the land. A society which compels the vast majority to a life of sufferance and dependence upon the minority for the privilege of working for a money wage that buys back in food, shelter and clothing, on the average, a mere fraction of what is produced by them, with no assurance even of this subsistence, and with the perpetual dread of unemployment staring them in the face—such a society leads to discontent and very often to futile efforts to mend and reform the system.

"No case? Abuse the other side" has for years been the tactics of those in power not only in our present society but in past phases of society. The industrial capitalists today are reactionary as all classes are compelled to be who hold economic and political power. To maintain their power they endeavor by every means at their disposal to stay the onward evolutionary forces. Their hirelings from pulpit, platform and press distort everything in order to dope the workers. They lay charges and penalise those agitators who have the courage to tell the truth of this distortion. They charge Socialist and labor leaders with being the cause of every episode that occurs in society, from the trivial dispute between an individual employer and his solitary workman right up to the full gamut to the late great war.

Abuse and charging Socialists with the crime of truth telling will not stay the downfall of our present industrial capitalism. They may be branded as scapegoats, but the forces cannot be stayed that must inevitably establish the co-operative commonwealth.

J. M. G.

world; and in them the American system, at its best, gets prodigious productivity by summoning and welcoming a leadership highly individual, highly personal, clothed with opportunity and with authority to put that personality into product and into the organization of men. This strength, surely, we ought never to abandon. It is a mighty strength.

(Continued next week).

New Zealand Letter.

Continued from Front Page

ductive organism, a conscious part, that it will be organically adapted for the task for which the I.W.W. and O.B.U. think themselves responsible.

The essential condition is class-consciousness, and in the creation of this alone can the intellectual factor play a part. Hence the need of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, and herein is defined its function. A party organisation adapted for propaganda, unhampered by trade unions, and tending to class organisation alone is the revolutionary demand of the day.

N.Z. THOMAS PERRY.

Madame Henri Verbrugghen.

AN EVENING OF FOLK SONGS.

On Wednesday, November 20th, we had another great night at the hall.

Madame Verbrugghen came according to her promise and featured on British Folk Songs. The songs chosen dealt with "Labor, Joy and Sorrow," and it is quite safe to say that few among the large audience had ever had such a feast of sweet melodies at one time before.

The lecturer first gave a short address on the subject and origin of folk songs and this opened up a new field of thought, for in the busy rush of modern times we do not often think back to ancient years, or pause to reflect on the origin of even later songs and verses.

Madame Verbrugghen sang sixteen songs, the majority of them Scotch, and the audience fairly revelled in their delightful harmony.

The "Death Croon," which was sung by the lecturer for the first time in public, was greatly appreciated, although the first favorite seemed to be the "Sea Tangle," a song of "Jealousy."

Altogether a most delightful evening was spent, and the programme came to an end all too soon. However, we hope to persuade Madame Verbrugghen to come to the hall again, and if keenest appreciation and a hearty welcome are any aids to this end, we should be sure of her consent.

THE RED FIGHTER.

By DENNIS HOGAN.
Though you pinion my arms,
Though you shackle my feet,
Though you silence my voice in the cell;
The ideas that I hold
And the songs that I sing,
Will live if you chain me to hell.

My dust and my bones,
You may throw to the winds,
You may drive me to darkest despair;
But the words that I spoke
And the lessons I taught
Will roll in an echo from there.

The world is my country,
And Freedom, my soul;
While hope is the breath of my life
And I carry the torch
Of Reason and Truth,
Regardless of hatred and strife.

Oppressed from the cradle,
Exploited and slaved;
I wait for the system to fall,
And live in suspense,
For the moment to strike,
That brings Justice and Freedom to all.

Each blow of the lash
On the bent, toiling backs,
Of the class that have struggled and bled,
But hastens the day
When the flag of revolt
Will wave over Tyranny dead.

So throw in your lot
With the rebels who dare
The unborn, your memory will keep,
And your undying name
Will be ever revered
When the fruits of your labor they reap.

A Complaint.

To the Editor of the "International Socialist."

Dear Comrade,—Your answer under the heading, "Questions and Answers," appearing in the "I.S." of Nov. 1st, was misleading. To again call your attention to the question I asked, "Was that statement correct in the article by Moses Baritz, headed 'Marx and Reform'?" The answer concerns not only myself personally, but every reader of the "I.S." How could readers of the "I.S." know whether your answer was correct or incorrect if you did not put my question before them? Before showing the falseness of your answer, as well as the incorrectness of the statement complained of, I insist on you putting my question before the readers, and so enable them (intelligently) to judge your answer in relation to that statement which I took objection to. The question was as follows:

In the last issue of the "I.S." the article "Marx and Reform," by Moses Baritz, the following statement was made: "In no European country has there even been a Socialist representative elected. Every party in Europe that has secured political representation in a legislative body is a party of Reform and not a revolutionary party." What I wish to know is, if that statement is correct? I would also like to know what party Karl Leibneicht was representing in the German parliament, and the Bolshevik group of five in Russian Duma?

Your answer to that was Leibneicht did not represent revolution, but reform, and although I do not agree with you I will leave it to be dealt with by someone who knows the conditions in Germany better than I. But I am going to deal with another question. You say "that my objection is still unsound, inasmuch as the Russian S.D.P. consisted of the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. A party containing reactionaries must be revolutionary." Therefore, the Bolshevik group in the Duma, which later was exiled to Siberia, for its revolutionary attitude, was not revolutionary.

Dear Comrade, this answer of yours is so painful to me that I can hardly realise that such a statement could be made in the official organ of the A.S.P. The lies in the capitalist press do not affect my feelings, but misleading statements made by those who claim to represent the same idea and principles as the Bolsheviks in Russia hurts me very much.

Many years ago I came to this country instinctively believing (because I could not speak English at that time) that the A.S.P. represents the working class interest, and was therefore a revolutionary party (the party to which I belonged in Russia was the S.D.P.) so I joined it, and now it is more painful to me as a member of the A.S.P. to remind the editor of its official paper, of the A, B, C, of Historical Developments of the Russian Revolution. (Such an error as mixing the political (or bourgeois) revolution with Social (or proletarian) revolution cannot be forgiven to you as editor of a revolutionary paper. The working class in Russia could not have a straight-out issue, i.e., the working class v. capitalist class, before March, 1917, while semi-feudal class, the land lords with the Tsar, an autocrat, were in power. Surely you could not expect to go for social revolution before that government was overthrown, and the political revolution was accomplished.

The relationship of the classes was such that the working class of Russia could not get a successful political revolution without the aid of other classes, and the revolution of 1905 is a good illustration of that. Your statement that a party containing reactionaries cannot be revolutionary is right, but you expressed it wrongly. Every political party justifies its existence by representing economical interests of a certain class: a party representing a class whose interests stand for revolution cannot be reactionary. Now what class interest was represented by the S.D.P.? One faction of the Bolsheviks were representing the working class interest and the other faction the Mensheviks—petty-Bourgeois.

Did the interests of these two classes stand for revolution? Yes; the petty-Bourgeois interest stood for political revolution; that is why they were together as far as the political revolution was concerned.

To attract the hesitating masses of the petty-bourgeois (the peasantry) to join the revolution, it was necessary for the revolutionary working class party to ad-

vocate the confiscation of land for the peasants, the constituent assembly, the democratic republic, and so on. The fact that after the political revolution of March, 1917, the Mensheviks became reactionaries did not alter the Bolshevik position as the revolutionary body representing the working class interest even more, it did not alter the position of the Mensheviks being revolutionaries before March, 1917.

This fact, only proved the petty-bourgeois ideology of the Mensheviks but did not prevent the Bolsheviks from taking an advantage, and accomplish the social revolution six months after the accomplishment of the political revolution.

Now, were the Bolshevik Group in the Duma Revolutionary?

Yours for social revolution,
V. PETRUCHENIA.

We thank Comrade Petruchenia for the lesson on the Historical Development of the Russian Revolution, but at the same time we can not say that it has altered our opinion. It is unfortunate for Comrade Petruchenia that he has not a better grasp of English (they are those who assisted him), for if he had he would know that the article referred to a LEGISLATIVE body. Now both the Duma and the Reichstag were only DELIBERATIVE bodies. He would also realize that Comrade Leibneicht with the Social Revolution and reactionaries were judged from this standpoint. Thus, the Mensheviks stood for a POLITICAL revolution, BUT, and it was just this BUT that condemned them as Social Reactionaries.

It was just this BUT, in the form of a so-called revolutionary process, which forced the left section of the Russian S.D.P. to brand the right section as reactionaries in October. THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION was completed. In compliance, the Mensheviks the Bolsheviks condemned the S.D.P., for that party contained them. This action was repeated by Leibneicht and the Social Revolutionists, as the German S.D.P. was condemned. The Mensheviks were on the same class as Bernstein, revisionists to the Social Revolutionists, they only differed in the degree of their revision, which was quite natural, as the Mensheviks tried to double with the Social REFORM.

As to the Bolsheviks being revolutionaries, we have made no attempt to state otherwise, but this is no way deprives the fact that they were elected as members of the S.D.P., but the same as Leibneicht, in Germany, was elected on the platform of the S.D.P. Since the Revolution, the Bolsheviks have turned into the Communist Party in order to COMPLETELY separate them from their old associates of the S.D.P., the Mensheviks.

Ed. "I.S."

TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS

Whosoever you are, if you believe in Scientific Socialism, you must recognise the need for organisation. Why not set a good example to the workers whom you come in contact with, and whom we know you try to educate, by joining up with the A.S.P.

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For further information, drop a line to the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

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A.S.P. NEWS AND NOTES

SCARBOROUGH BRANCH.

As usual we had a good attendance at our economic class on Sunday morning November 30. The subject was from the Communist Manifesto, which the Comrades are taking great interest in.

In the afternoon owing to wet weather we held the meeting in the hall with a large audience. Comrade J. Graham was in chair, and Comrade Nelson as speaker.

Comrade Nelson was in fine form, his audience at the conclusion of the speaker's address, asked a lot of questions which were answered to the satisfaction of all present.

C. T. KIRK, Secretary.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

I omitted to mention in last week's report that the Domain meeting on November 2nd was held for the benefit of Broken Hill miners, and that the collection amounted to £5 10s, which was handed over to their fund.

On Sunday, November 30th, the singing in the Domain was carried on by the accustomed swing, large group gathering round the platform to listen to our speakers.

The platform in the hall at night was occupied by Mr. G. Kerr, the representative of the A.M.A. from Broken Hill, described the conditions in the mines, the disease and death incident upon it. He sketched the position in a very vivid manner, and showed clearly the misery the miners were out on strike.

There was very little discussion at the close of the lecture. A retiring collection was taken up, and we were about £7 4s and the audience had left the hall.

The report would not be complete, I omitted to mention that open-air meetings are being held at Darlinghurst every Friday night.

Comrades Nelson, Clifton, Sinclair and Thomas have been delivering the good and Com. Morris, who is our youngest member, being only 17 years old, made his debut by taking the chair, and bids fair to be one of our promising speakers in time to come.
MARCIA REARDON,
Assistant Secretary.

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